The Effects of Federalism on Women's Political Representation: A Case Study of German Federalism

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THE EFFECTS OF FEDERALISM ON WOMEN’S POLITICAL REPRESENTATION: A CASE STUDY OF GERMAN FEDERALISM

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Honors in the Major program in Political Science in the College of Sciences and the Burnett Honors College at the University of Central Florida Orlando, Florida

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ABSTRACT

This thesis analyzes the effects of federalism on promoting gender representation in parliaments using the case of Germany. There is no country in the world where women and men are equally represented in politics. Discrepancies in representation may stem from historical, cultural, institutional, or structural facets. One little discussed possibility is that of governmental institutions, particularly, the federalist structure of government. Theoretically, federalism should encourage minorities, including women, to be elected to parliaments at a higher rate than in unitary states because it allows additional layer of access to and entry into elected office. By investigating the proportions of women in parliament at different levels of government, we can identify the effects of the federalist structure on advancing women’s representation. The German federalist system is analyzed at three different levels: the sub-national (Länder), national (the Bundestag), and supra-national (European Parliament) level to assess whether the federal structure affects the level of representation by providing a funnel effect. The thesis also analyzed the importance of voluntary gender quotas adopted by many of the political parties on mitigating the effect of federalism. The final results of federalism as it related to gender equality in parliaments were inconclusive as the effects could not be clearly separated from those of gender quotas for the case of Germany.
DEDICATIONS

This thesis is dedicated to the people in my life, men and women, who have shown me that equality is worth fighting for. This thesis is dedicated to my dear friend, Leah who has invested countless hours into gender and political discussions with me. This thesis is dedicated to an astronomer I once met, Joey, who proved to me that feminists do not need to be female. This thesis is dedicated to my wonderful friends, Marcus and Cortez, who explained to me different privileges of race. This thesis is dedicated to a fellow intern, Salvio, who never tires of discussions about politics, gender, race, or sexuality. This thesis is dedicated to those who believe equality is the future.
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The political arena is plagued with gender inequalities. September 2011 marked the month when Saudi Arabia granted women in its country the right to vote and run for office (Caron, 2011), thereby officially making all women of the world equal before electoral law. Although all women officially have the right to vote, women’s rights as equal citizens are dictated by the transparency and fairness of individual governments, particularly the meaningfulness of elections in a specific country. Despite this legislative breakthrough, women remain vastly underrepresented in politics. It is important that women are included in the political arena, specifically into elected offices such as in parliaments, because research has reflected the positive effects of having women in parliaments. Specifically, more women in parliaments means that more legislation regarding women’s issues and family issues will be passed (Conway, 2001; Fortin-Rittberger, 2013). Including women in politics helps to include women in all areas of economic, politics, and business (Welter, 2004).

The gap in women’s representation worldwide is staggering. Some countries, such as Rwanda, have a large percentage of women in their lower parliament (as of July 2013, 56%), while other countries have 0% (as of July 2013), such as Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, Qatar, and Vanuatu (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2013). Most countries fall in between these two extremes.

Studies such as Project Muse have been conducted to detect the cultural obstacles that impede women’s representation into politics. According to this study, there are three main sources that
affect political equality: cultural features, structural factors, and political institutions (Norris, 2001). Cultural explanations provide a conceivable motivation for the advancement of women in Nordic countries with a history of governmental intervention and a promotion of social equality but also for the discrimination of women in strict Islamic nations with a history of few women in politics (Norris, 2001, Karoven, 1995). Structural factors include the socioeconomic condition of a country, its development, and the percentage of women working and in high level business positions (Norris, 2001). Political institutions that impact women’s representation include political institutions such as the electoral system or gender quotas (Norris, 2001). One particular institution that has been studied little, which may affect women’s representation in politics, is the structure of the state and its implications for women holding elected offices.

Having women in elected offices is important because as Karin Tamerius points out, men and women have differences in experience and differences in attitudes and resources (Krook, 2010, p. 244-245). Female experiences differ greatly from male experiences and thus each gender has a different outlook and expectations for politics. Understanding the four different aspects of experiences of men and women are essential to understanding why each perspective is crucial to the political process. Experiences are shaped by content, perspective, mutuality, and association, according to Tamerius (Krook, 2010, p. 245). Content of experiences includes differences that arise strictly from biological differences, such as a women’s ability to become pregnant or the social aspects that result in differing experiences for men and women. Perspective of experience includes the insight resulting from gender experiences. Mutuality of experiences is the kinship between females or males due to their shared experiences. Associations are closely related to
mutuality, whereby females or males tend to associate with other of the same gender for political purposes. It is important for women to be included in the political arena due to the differences in experiences between men and women. Without women to represent their experiences, the political systems will continue to focus upon a male dominated experiences. By including women in the political system, differences in attitudes and resources arise. Attitudes in support of women, such as support and commitment for women in politics, rises as women are elected to offices. Additionally, as more women are elected to political positions, the resources for themselves and other women rises due to the increasing level of awareness and expertise (Krook, 2012, p. 245, Welter, 2004).

In sum, it is extremely important to include women in politics to represent half of the population and the unique experiences of the female perspective. Furthermore, as more women are included in politics, attitudes and resources towards women in politics, and other areas will change positively (Krook, 2010, p. 245). By empowering women politically, women can also be empowered in other areas of life (Hausmann, 2012, 187).

Different factors may aid or hinder women’s ability to be elected to office. One aspect that has been unstated is the institutional set up of the state. This thesis examines the implications of the federalist state structure on women’s representation. Because the federalist state divides its power among its constituents, it creates a multi-level political system that should allow for greater access and therefore greater equality. Theoretically, federalism should increase equality and the rights of minorities through increased representation (Conway, 2001, p. 232). This
process is a slow one that begins by “funneling” minorities upward through the political system (Filippov, 2004). More minorities are expected to be at the lower levels of government due to their direct connection with many constituents. As minorities are better represented in the lower levels of government, they should continue to move upwards in the system. The results of this analysis are predicted to show that the federalist system does indeed produce a “funneling” effect. Therefore, according to federalism, the trend should be more women in the lower levels elected positions of government and fewer in the higher levels.

Gender quotas have also emerged as a way of including women in the political process, specifically into elected offices. Gender quotas were established as a way to get women into elected office (Quota Project, 2013). According to the Quota Project (2013), there are three main types of quotas for women: reserved seats, political party quotas, and legal candidate quotas. Quotas emerged to change structural differences in the political system and thereby to help encourage a cultural change so that in the future quotas will not be necessary. Certain countries have successfully implemented certain kinds of gender quotas, such as the Nordic countries of Sweden, Iceland, and Norway (Karvonen, 1995), and also Rwanda (Quota Project, 2013). The Nordic countries mentioned above all have voluntary political party quotas that have yielded high proportions of women elected to their parliaments (Karvonen, 1995, Quota Project, 2013). Rwanda has taken a different approach; this country has enforced constitutional quotas laws at the lower and upper houses of parliament and also electoral quota laws for the sub-national level of government (Quota Project, 2013). Quotas have been instrumental in increasing women’s representation in the Nordic countries, where women’s representation regionally, has the highest
average in the world (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2013), but also in Rwanda where women’s representation is highest in the world for one country (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2013).

Some of Germany’s political parties have adopted gender quotas. This thesis discusses the quotas for women for the different political parties of Germany to determine their impact on women’s representation. This thesis also examines the structure of the federalist government of Germany and determine if it is encouraging for women to enter into politics. My research is important to the research of women’s representation because it examines a specific country at the different levels of government, sub-national, national, and supra-national. By examining each of these levels for Germany, the implications of the federalist system should be evident. By documenting and examining the German political parties and their contributions to women’s representation at the sub-national, national, and supra-national levels, conclusions are made about the effectiveness of quotas for women’s representation in Germany because the system of federalism in Germany is strongly associated with party politics, the only form of gender quota Germany has adopted. This research is relevant to begin answering the question of structural changes, specifically, how the structure of government help or hinder women’s political representation.

This thesis focuses mainly upon the Germany system with comparisons to Western Europe, identified as the EU 15 (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom) and Norway to provide a comparative context. Germany is also compared against different regions of the world, such as the Americas, Arab states and others.
Germany has been chosen as a case study for several reasons. Germany is an economic and political leader of the European Union (EU). Having the largest economy in the EU and within the Eurozone, German can be considered the economic leader of this area. Germany also currently holds the presidential seat at the EU and has been influential in the politics of other nations in the region and globally, therefore, Germany can be considered a political leader of the EU. Germany also has a strong federalist state with multiple political parties, some of which have adopted gender quotas and some of which have not. Germany’s federal system is composed of a central government, led by the lower house of parliament, the Bundestag, and the federal government, the Bundesrat, and sixteen federal states, called Länder (Green, 2012). The clear separation of powers between the German central government and its Länder, as will be discussed in Chapter 3, has given Germany one of the strongest federalist systems in the world (Green, 2012, Filippov, 2004). Out of the five national political parties currently represented in Germany’s national parliament, the Bundestag, all of them have implemented some sort of gender quota. These parties are: the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), their sister party, the Christian Socialist Union (CSU), the Social Democratic Party (SPD), the Green party, and the Left. The quota systems are all different, as are the results they produce. There is also one national party, the Free Democratic Party (FDP), that frequently holds seats in the Bundestag that is absent after the September 2013 election. This party does not have a gender quota. The differences in Germany’s political parties gender quotas makes in an ideal candidate to study the effects of gender quotas on women’s representation in the context of a federal system of government.
I expect that there will be more women representatives at the lower levels of government and fewer at the higher levels of government. This outcome is expected because of the federalist structure of government in Germany. Because of the powers the Länder enjoy, Germany is considered to have one of the strongest Federalist systems in the world. I expect that cultural and historical considerations will affect women’s representation in different Länder in Germany, such as differences between eastern and western Germany. I expect the European Parliament may contain fewer women than the national parliament of Germany, some political oddities may exist at this level due to the differences in political structure of the European Parliament.

Outline and Methodology

The research design used in this thesis is based on a comparison of the percentages of women in sub-national parliaments after the most recent election as well as a comparison of women’s representation across different levels of government. In Germany, the sub-national level consists of the sixteen Länder (states) of Germany. I examine the members of parliament (MPs) of the Landtag (Länder governments) because MPs are elected offices. For the national level, I look at the elected members of the Bundestag. Although the national level consists of two houses, the Bundestag and the Bundesrat, I only focus on the Bundestag because these members are elected. The Bundesrat is composed of elected members from the sixteen Länder. Therefore, the representatives at the Bundesrat are not elected to this position explicitly. Furthermore, counting the elected officials of the Landtag and members of the Bundesrat would essentially result in
double-counting. At the supra-national level, I examine women’s representation at the European Parliament. For this level, I examine the total percentage of women at the European Parliament, with a focus upon the German contribution. The German contribution to the European Parliament is of greater importance for this thesis because I will be able to examine the percentages of women representative, as well as the percentage of women each party contributed, and compare them in a meaningful way to the sub-national and national levels. For each parliament, I also look at the distribution of women across different political parties in order to assess the impact of gender quotas, which vary across the different parties. This is significant because quota regulations can affect women’s representation regardless of the level of parliament, i.e. sub-national or national.

After presenting the data in Chapter 4, I analyze the data in Chapter 5. In Chapter 5, I make observations based upon the data. Here, I determine the strength of federalism and quotas on women’s representation. Lastly, in Chapter 6, I draw conclusions from the data and analysis and make recommendations for future research.

When analyzing the regional and worldwide proportions of women in parliaments in Chapter 2, the timeframe between 2003 and 2013 was chosen because of its close correlation with the national parliamentary elections in Germany. These elections to the Bundestag occur every four years. On the two ends of the selected timeframe, the 15th parliament was elected to the Bundestag on September 22, 2002 and the 18th parliament was elected to the Bundestag on September 22, 2013. This timeframe gives the best results because the parliaments are
representative of the present situation and the 15th and 18th parliaments are the only ones represented in this analysis.

In Chapter 3, the most recent parliamentary elections are used for each of the different levels of government so that the most current trends will be present. The most recent sub-national elections vary by Länder, with most taking place in 2012. However, a few Länder had their most recent elections as long ago as 2009. The most recent national elections took place during the writing of this thesis, on September 22, 2013. The results of that election are included in the analysis. The most recent supra-national parliamentary elections took place in May of 2013. These parliamentarians will begin their term in 2014.
CHAPTER 2: AN OVERVIEW OF WOMEN’S REPRESENTATION AND FEDERALISM

Women in Parliaments

Women now have a greater voice than ever in politics as evidenced by their increasing proportions in politics, namely parliaments. The percentage of women as members of parliament has been steadily increasing over time (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2013 & Krook, 2012). However, this increased influence still has not reached total equality. Worldwide, German women enjoy higher levels of political representation than women in many other countries as evidenced by the IPU’s data. Germany and Europe, in general, have staggeringly higher proportions of women as members of parliament compared to most Middle Eastern, Asian, and Pacific nations, as seen in Figure 1. Germany includes more women in parliament than most nations in the North and South American continents as well (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2013). Their proportions, however, are still staggeringly low considering women make up roughly half of the population.
Looking at Figure 1, the stark difference between men and women’s representation is clearly obvious. Worldwide\textsuperscript{1}, as of July 2013, only 20.9\% of members of parliament were women.

Single house legislatures or Lower Houses of parliament offer slightly better percentages at 21.3\%. The Upper Houses or Senates of governments worldwide only has 18.8\% of women in their ranks. Figure 1 shows the number of men and women in parliaments regionally. Figure 2,

\textsuperscript{1} Worldwide is determined by the International Parliamentary Union and includes all countries in the world that parliamentary data is available for. As of July 2013, the worldwide statistic includes 188 countries.
below, shows the proportions of women in parliaments worldwide. For Figure 1, different regions of the world are shown for July 2003 and July 2013. Germany is also included in this Figure to compare and contrast the percentages of women in Germany’s parliament to other regions of the world. The bars represent the percentage of women in the parliaments in these various regions. This ten year analysis allows for comparison of proportions and speculation for those changes. For Figure 2, depicts the number of women and men in the upper house, lower house, and worldwide totals.

![Women in Parliaments Worldwide](chart)

**Figure 2** shows the number of men and women in parliaments worldwide.
Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2013

When looking at Figure 1, the Nordic countries clearly show the highest percentage of women in their parliaments in 2013. In Nordic countries, this percentage is as high as 42% (Inter-
Parliamentary Union, 2013). For the OSCE members\(^2\) of Europe, excluding Nordic countries, this percentage is slightly higher than the worldwide average, at 22.4% (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2013). Germany comes in at 25\(^{th}\) worldwide with 32.9% of women making up their lower house parliament (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2013). When looking at Figure 1, Germany fares below the Nordic countries but above the average of the OSCE members that comprise the Europe bar in this figure. The Pacific region falls behind the rest of the regions of the world displayed. The Arab states and Asian region also lag behind the other regions of the world and fall below the worldwide average. When looking at Germany, approximately 32.9% of its Lower House is made up of women according to information provided to Women in National Parliaments as of July 2013, while only 27.5% of its Upper House is made up of women (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2013).

When comparing the July 2003 data to the July 2013 data, some interesting conclusions emerge. Women only accounted for 15.4% of member of single house or lower house parliaments worldwide in 2003. In the Nordic countries, that number was significantly higher at 39.7%. For Europe’s OSCE members and excluding the Nordic countries, 15.6% of women made up their single house or lower house parliaments in 2003. Europe made greater advances in the percentage of women in their parliaments than the Nordic countries and Germany did; however their percentages still fell below both. Although falling far below the worldwide average, the Arab states make a dramatic increase in the percentage of women in their parliaments; more than

\(^2\) Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe consists of 57 members, 54 of which are European/Central Asian. The other three are the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada. http://www.osce.org/who/83
doubling representation. The Americas and Sub-Saharan Africa also made advances in women’s representation over this decade. These two regions of the world are very close to the worldwide average of women in parliament. The Pacific states, like Germany, hardly made any progress in increasing women’s representation in parliaments over this decade.

Although the percentage of women in parliament has continued to steadily grow, true gender equality in parliaments will take decades to reach if the current trend continues. The Nordic countries are closest to achieving gender parity in their parliaments. Currently, their parliaments, on average, are made up of just over 40% women, up less than 5% from a decade ago. The introduction states that there are different reasons why women’s representation in politics is slow to change, such as cultural attitudes or structural factors.

In response to low proportions of women in politics, some German political parties have implemented gender party quotas, such as the Christian Democrats, the Social Democrats, the Greens, and the Party of Democratic Socialism (Meyer, 2003). These political parties are working to change structural factors of the political system and thereby increase equality, perhaps a side effect would be a cultural shift as well. The quota systems of each of these political parties will be discussed in later Chapters. Despite these gender quotas, many parties struggle to get women to participate and to get women elected into important positions.

The idea and implementation of quota systems has been one way governments have been working towards achieving gender parity in elected bodies of government (Quota Project, 2013).
As mentioned before, there are three main types of quotas for women: reserved seats, political party quotas, and legal candidate quotas (Quota Project, 2013). Critics of gender quotas claim that quotas are the opposite of equal opportunity because women are favored as candidates over men (Quota Project, 2013). Critics also call gender quotas undemocratic, saying that quotas undermine voter’s choice in who gets elected (Quota Project, 2013). Lastly, critics claim that gender quotas imply that people are elected solely based upon their gender. Women do not want to be elected because they are a woman, but because they are qualified to perform the duties (Caul, 2001). Those in favor of gender quotas claim that quotas do not discriminate against men, but rather aid women in overcoming obstacles inherently present for fair access to elected offices (Quota Project, 2013). Proponents of gender quotas do not find that quotas infringe upon voter’s rights because political parties control the nomination process anyway, not the voters. Therefore, incorporating political party quotas of nominations would not inhibit voter’s rights. In fact, gender quotas may positively contribute to the democratic process by providing more transparency (Quota Project, 2013). Furthermore, the female perspective is a necessary part of the political arena because without it, the gendered experiences of half of the population is missing (Caul, 2001). Lastly, proponents of gender quotas stress that women who are elected through quotas are just as qualified as men, they simply need additional help in overcoming systemic and systematic obstacles to being elected (Quota Project, 2013).

The data surrounding quota adoption is interesting. As noted before, both the Nordic countries and Rwanda have successfully adopted different quota systems that have worked for each of the different political systems (Quota Project, 2013, Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2013). Out of the
nations listed in the Quota Project’s database (2013), 51 have adopted voluntary party quotas. Germany is one of these countries. Germany has no adopted any other quota systems, neither reserved seats, nor constitutional or electoral quotas. Forty (40) countries have adopted reserved seat quotas for different levels of government. Forty-one (41) countries have adopted constitutional quotas for women. Ten (10) countries have adopted electoral gender quotas (Quota Project, 2013). However, when looking at the countries in which most of the gender legislation has taken hold, few countries hold accountable elections and have transparent government. It is unlikely that these gender quotas have had much of an effect in most of the countries which they have been implemented.

**Overview of Federalism**

One aspect that has been often neglected in gender literature is that of the state structure of government (Filippov, 2004, p.60). Different structural systems may give way to better or worse representation for minorities and women in politics. Some countries in the world have adopted the federalist model of government. Out of 191 current states, 25 have been identified as adopting federalist constitutions, which is only 13% of the total countries in the world (Norris, 2008, p. 61). However, because the federalist countries that do exist are some of the largest geographically and population wise, such as the United States, Canada, Germany, Nigeria, Brazil, India, and Russia, more than 41% of the world’s current population resides in a federalist country (Norris, 2008, p. 60).
Federalism decentralizes the power of the central governmental authority by giving its states regional power. A federal constitution entails a structure that denotes a difference between nation and sub-national layers of government (Norris, 2008, p. 60). Riker cites that a federal constitution must have at least two tiers of government (Norris, 2008, p. 60). Along with recognizing different layers of government, a federal constitution will give specific roles and responsibilities to each layer; there must be some area in which each level of government is autonomous (Norris, 2008).

Federalism is sometimes touted as the most desirable form of government (Filippov, 2004) due to its economic, political and social advantages over unitary governments. Federalism is said to encourage public engagement in decisions affecting local communities and countries as a whole (Norris, 2008, p. 148). It has been suggested that federalism provides many different advantages “for democratic participation, representation, and accountability; for public policy and governmental effectiveness; and for the representation and accommodation of territorially based ethnic, cultural, and linguistic differences” (Norris, 2008, 60).

Economically, the decentralization of fiscal policy is believed to reduce corruption in governments (Norris, 2008). Because transparency and accountability are said to increase with a federalist constitution, corruption should be kept at bay in these countries (Norris, 2008). Furthermore, the federalist system allows for a more tailored approach to economic policy. Decentralized power should allow for services and specific regulations to be catered to specific populations (Norris, 2008). Because of better management economically, more fierce economic
competition, as well as cooperation, should emerge among the devolved sub-national states (Filippov, 2004). A unitary government may be preferable for remedying market failures in enormous economies or when much of the market exists outside of the geographic boundaries of the state (Filippov, 2004). However, a dynamic federalist system will allow the state to fluctuate between a more and less centralized fiscal policy. This is a necessary aspect of a federalist government because of continuous and countless changes that require flexibility in different economic arenas.

Politically, a federalist constitution is said to promote transparency and accountability (Norris, 2008), as stated before. This structure of government is also widely believed to promote administrative effectiveness and the improvement of public services (Norris, 2008, p. 60). Representatives and their constituents interact more frequently in federalist systems than they do in a unitary system. These numerous points of access to government is said to enhance political participation (Norris, 2008, 60). A closer relationship between elected officials and their constituents provides a greater base for accountability. Accountability is higher in federalists systems than in unitary systems because there are avenues of accountability vertically, as well as horizontally (Schaltegger, 2009). This heightened accountability should strengthen the authority of the government and its federalist structure on the whole (Schaltegger, 2009). Because elected officials interact more closely with their constituents, they have greater accountability to them. This accountability translates into tangible goods and services for the constituents. Additionally, because local and regional matters are kept locally and regionally, citizens feel less estranged from politics and therefore have higher levels of participation (Conway, 2001). The people of a
federalist government should feel more satisfied with their political situation than the people of a unitary government (Filippov, 2004). Generally, democracy and good governance should thrive in countries with a federalist constitution (Norris, 2008).

Socially, the federalist system has been praised as being the most egalitarian form of government (Filippov, 2004). The rights of minorities are better protected in federalist systems because it is less likely that a majority will entirely overrule a minority; the minorities have more of a voice. A unitary government is more likely to have an alienated minority. Lijphart underscores the positive social influences of federalism because of its promotion of stability, peace, and democratic values, particularly in multinational states (Norris, 2008). Federalist states are better at preventing regional conflicts and containing them if they do break out (Filippov, 2004) because, according to Lijphart, political boundaries that echo social boundaries create homogenous societies within those boundaries (Norris, 2008). These socially, divided sub-national units should promote stability and reduce violence, while advocating the interests of each sub-national unit within the country (Norris, 2008). Some also argue that federalist systems prevent minority led conflicts or divisions within states because the federal system protects these minorities rights (Lijphart, 1999).

Because the federalist state divides its power among its constituents, it creates a multi-level political system that should allow for greater access and therefore greater equality. Therefore, it is expected that the federalist system of government will produce many opportunities for women at the lowest levels of government and fewer further up. This idea can be thought of as a funnel,
whereby elected officials are given many opportunities at the lowest level of government and therefore, have some opportunities to move to higher levels of government. Because of this, it is expected that there will be more women at the lowest levels of the German federalist system.

There are also those who critique the federalist structure of government. Some criticisms include the charge of inefficient governance. Multiple, complex layers of government may lend themselves to wastefulness and slowness within the government (Norris, 2008). While proponents of the federalist structure praise its multiple entry and veto points as signs of empowerment and checks and balances, opponents see these things as cumbersome to governmental responses (Norris, 2008). Some critics argue that multiple layers of government may infringe upon the roles and functions of different levels (Norris, 2008). This infringement may lead to reduced accountability and further slowing down of the clunky federalist system (Norris, 2008). There is also an argument against federalism is states with intense “disparities in population, size, or wealth”, stating that these factors may contribute to stress in the system (Norris, 2008).
CHAPTER 3: GERMANY’S POLITICAL SYSTEM

The constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany is called the Basic Law (Deutscher Bundestag, 2013, Legal Framework). This constitution describes the political structure and core values of Germany. Elections to the German Bundestag are outlined, as are Parliamentary elections, organization, and conduct. The Basic Law is split into eleven sections, which detail everything related to the state, from basic human rights observed by Germany to the finances of the state.

The current Federal Republic of German emerged after World War II and was a calculated effort of the Allied Powers and the founding fathers of Germany. Germany has a federalist constitution that divides it into two separate layers of government: the sub-national and national levels. The sub-national level consists of state-like entities called Länder. There are sixteen Länder in Germany. The government of each Land is called a Landtag. The national level of government is separated into two decision making houses, the Bundestag and the Bundesrat, each of which will be discussed later. Each level has different roles and responsibilities, as outlined in the second section of the Basic Law, entitled, “The Federation and the Länder” (Deutscher Bundestag, 2010, Basic Law). Section two details the relationship between the federal government and the Länder.

The Länder have the obligation to participate in European Union related legislation as it pertains to any specific Land. Powers exclusive to the Länder include school education, culture and broadcasting (Deutscher Bundestag, 2010, Basic Law). Therefore, whenever the European Union

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3 Länder is the German plural word for “states”. Land refers to a single state.
wishes to impose legislation in one of these areas, a representative, or group of representatives, from the Länder shall make the final decision. Whenever Länder interests are affected at all, the federal government must consult the Länder and the Bundesrat to ensure the changes are acceptable. Article twenty-eight of this section discusses the “autonomy of the municipalities” (Deutscher Bundestag, 2010, Basic Law). Article thirty details the sovereign powers of the Länder. Here, state powers and functions are clearly outlined and set aside from the roles and responsibilities of the Federal Government. Federal law however, trumps Land law (Deutscher Bundestag, 2010, Basic Law).

The Länder and the federal government of Germany are also connected through the Bundesrat, the upper house of the national parliament. The Bundesrat is composed of Länder representatives (Deutscher Bundestag, 2010, Basic Law). The members of the Bundesrat are appointed members that are always the elected members of the Länder governments (Deutscher Bundestag, 2010, Basic Law). The Bundesrat participates in legislative matters alongside the Bundestag, the other house of parliament consisting of directly elected members.

Thus, the Bundesrat is the house in the federal government where the Länder governments are directly represented. The number of seats each Länder government receives in the Bundesrat depends upon their population (Deutscher Bundestag, 2013, Legal Framework). Länder with more than 7 million people receive 6 seats in the Bundesrat. A population of 2 million or less achieved 3 seats. A population between 2 and 7 million gives the Länder 4 seats. The only exception is the Land of Hessen, which has around 6 million citizens and is afforded 5 seats in
the Bundesrat. Furthermore, deputy ministers are appointed in the event that the ordinary ministers cannot attend the Bundesrat meetings in Berlin. The Bunderat ensures that the needs of the Länder are being met at the national and supra-national levels (Bundesrat, 2013, Roles and Functions).

The Bundestag, or lower house of the German system, is home to the Mitglieder des Bundestages (MdBs), or the Members of Parliament. Members of the Bundestag are voted for every four years or less (Deutscher Bundestag, 2013, Legal Framework). The system for electing the MdBs is election based on the popularity of political parties. The elections take place within an election including the entire German populace but is based upon the party list system (Deutscher Bundestag, 2013, Legal Framework). The German people vote for political parties in order to determine their strength and therefore, number of seats in the Bundestag. The political parties then use their compiled lists to fill their seats.

It is important to understand the political parties of German because they play a large role in the electoral process. Political parties are an integral part of German politics; they are specifically referenced to in the German Constitution (Deutscher Bundestag, 2013, Legal Framework). As mentioned in the Bundestag paragraph above, the political parties participate in compiling a list of potential candidates. Party politics have positively affected women’s entry into the political arena, such as with the implementation of gender quotas (Caul, 2001). Political parties have also worked to hinder women’s rights in Germany by reducing political, social and economic opportunities for women (Meyer, 2003). The following section discusses the five major political
parties within Germany that are represented in the federal parliament. There are additional parties at the Landtag level.

**German Political Parties**

The five most popular and influential German political parties are the Christian Democrats (CDU/CSU), the Social Democrats (SPD), the Free Democrats (FDP), the Greens, and the Left. Each of these parties has a different history with regards to women’s rights, women’s representation, and gender equality (Meyer, 2003).

The Christian Democrats have a history of wishing to preserve traditional family relations (Meyer, 2003). Recently, the CDU has modernized their stance on a variety of issues, including “single motherhood, battered women, sexual abuse, and equality in the workplace” (Meyer, 2003). In 1996, the CDU implemented a soft quota, known as a quorum (Meyer, 2003). This soft quota strongly encourages one-third of party positions be held by women; however, due to the nature of a soft quota, it is not strictly enforced. There are no sanctions on the party if this number is not upheld. In 2001, amid controversy, the CDU officially adopted the quorum and included it in the party constitution (Meyer, 2003).

The Social Democrats have “the longest tradition of a policy in favor if women’s equality […] in Germany” (Meyer, 2003). In 1988, the party implemented a strict 40% quota for women in party positions and in national parliamentary seats (Meyer, 2003). This party boasts the highest number of women in the party. Furthermore, women make up substantial amounts of the party’s
board of directors, management, and other delegates. The SPD also works to keep at least one-third of its elected Länder governmental members women (Meyer, 2003).

The Free Democrats (FDP) appear to be moving further to the right of the political spectrum and away from gender equality (Meyer, 2003). There is no form of gender quotas that exist in this party. Party rhetoric includes “an action plan for women (Konzertierte Aktion für Frauen)” (Meyer, 2003) that seeks to increase their numbers within the party and their representation in high party positions. This plan has proven futile. The FDP has fewer than 25% of their membership as women. Furthermore, there are no powerful female members of the party (Meyer, 2003).

The Greens, also known as Bündnis 90 or Die Grünen, has a high percentage of female membership, at 37% (Meyer, 2003). The Greens employ the strictest gender quotas of any other German political party, with 50% of “candidates for parliament and party positions” (Meyer, 2003). They were also the first party to promote a gender quota in 1985, and thus, have paved the way for other political parties. Beyond these political quotas, the Green party is a strong supporter of a 50% “quota for women in the work place” (Meyer, 2003). Ever since the 1970s, the Green party has advocated for women’s rights and women’s issues in politics. Female members of the Green party tend to be highly educated, between the ages of 30 and 50, and from Western Germany.
Lastly, the Left, formerly called the Party of Democratic Socialism has been an outspoken advocate for women’s rights. A product of East Germany and born from Communist/Socialist roots, the Left pushes for gender equality in all spheres of life: political, economic, social, and legal (Meyer, 2003). The Left has a “50% quota of women for all posts, including candidates for parliamentary elections” (Meyer, 2003). The Left boasts nearly 50% female membership, with high proportions of women as Leftist parliamentarians to the Bundestag (Meyer, 2003).
CHAPTER 4: SUBNATIONAL, NATIONAL AND SUPRANATIONAL DATA

The Federal Republic of Germany has elections at several levels. There are three levels this thesis will focus upon: the sub-national component, its Länder, a national component, and a supra-national component, the European parliament. There are elections within beneath the sub-national level, but those will not be the focus for this thesis. This Chapter will analyze each layer of government separately beginning with the Länder Landtag, which is the legislative body of each Länder. This thesis will focus upon the elected officials, not appointed ones, namely the members of parliament for each level of government. The conclusion of each subsection will summarize the proportions of women in each level of parliament. For the sub-national and national levels, the political party affiliation will be included in this analysis because of the varying policies each party has towards women representing them. It is expected that there will be the highest percentages of women at the lowest levels of government, the Landtag, and the fewest percentages at the highest echelons, the European parliament. The results may differ because of the supra-national nature of the European parliament, whereby it is not dictated by the same laws as Germany.

Sub-national

Germany is a federation of sixteen states, called Länder. Each of these Länder has their own laws, called Land laws (Deutscher Bundestag, 2013, Competencies of the German Federation and the Länder), which apply only to the specific Länder. This specific designation in the German constitution substantiates the federalist constitution by separating spheres of duty. The Federal laws may overrule the Land laws. The Länder of Germany are a relatively new creation.
Eleven of the current sixteen emerged after the end of World War II in 1949, the other five (Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, and Thuringia) were incorporated into Germany following the reunification of East Germany and West Germany in 1990 (Jeffery, 1998). Berlin was a unique Land because it was split into four areas occupied by different powers (the United States, the British, the French, and the Soviets) following World War II. In 1990, the part of Berlin that was occupied by the Soviets was also incorporated into Germany. These areas were traditionally linked but some areas that had little previous ties were combined to form a single Land.

The following sentences will name the sixteen Länder of Germany. The German name will be listed, followed by the English name in parentheses afterwards, if there is an English equivalent. The English name will be used for the duration of the paper. Three of Germany’s Länder are city-states; they are: Berlin, which is also Germany’s capital city, Bremen, and Hamburg. The largest Land is Bayern (Bavaria). The least populated Land is Brandenburg, while the most prosperous is Baden-Württemberg. The other Länder are: Hessen (Hesse), Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania), Niedersachsen (Lower Saxony), Nordrhein-Westfalen (North Rhine-Westphalia), Rheinland-Pfalz (Rhineland-Palatinate), Saarland, Sachsen (Saxony), Sachsen-Anhalt (Saxony-Anhalt), Schleswig-Holstein, Thüringen (Thuringion).

This thesis focuses upon elected officials at the sub-national level, Länder level. This section will discuss the elected members of the Landtag, the members of parliament. The number of women elected to parliament will be documented, as well as the parties they represent. Citizens vote for
a party to determine its popularity and thus the number of seats it will receive in parliament. The parties compose lists of potential members of parliaments, contingent upon the number of seats received, before voting occurs. Once voting is completed, seats are allotted by party and the party then uses its pre-composed list to fill the seats allocated to it. Therefore, understanding party politics for women is important, as was discussed in the previous chapter. For this thesis, the members of parliament for 2013 are discussed. Within the national level, the latest results, from the September 2013 elections are used. A summary table will be provided at the end of each sub-section and within the conclusion for comparison.

**Baden-Württemberg**

This Land is located in the southwestern corner of Germany. Out of the 138 members of parliament elected, 26 (18.8%) of the current members are women. Four political parties dominate this Land’s parliament, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), the Green party, the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the Free Democratic Party (FDP). Eight of the 60 (13.1%) CDU members of parliament are women. Eleven of the 36 (30.6%) members of parliament from the Green party are women. Seven of the 35 (20%) SPD members of parliament are women. None of the seven (0%) FDP members of parliament are women.

**Bavaria (Freistaat Bayern)**

Located in the southeastern corner of Germany, this Land is the largest of the sixteen and is also home of the oldest parliament in Germany. Out of the 180 seats in this Land’s parliament, women hold 54 (30%) seats. Four political parties dominate this Land’s parliament, the Christian
Social Union of Bavaria (CSU), the sister party of the CDU, the Social Democratic Party (SDP),
the Green party, and the Free Voters (FW). The CSU party is only present in Bavaria. The FW
party is one of the German parties that are only represented in the Länder parliaments, not the
Bundestag, the national parliament. Twenty-one of the 101 (20.8%) CDU members of parliament
are women. Eighteen of the 42 (42.9%) SPD members of parliament are women. Ten of the 18
(55.6%) members of parliament from the Green party are women. Five of the 19 (26.3%) FW
members of parliament are women.

**Berlin**

Located in the northeast of Germany, Berlin is one of the three Länder that are city-states. Berlin
is also the capital of Germany. Out of the 149 seats in the Land parliament, women hold 53
(35.6%) of the seats. Five parties hold seats in the Land parliament and there is also one member
of parliament which is unaffiliated with any political party. The five parties are: the Social
Democratic Party (SPD), the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), the Green party, the Left and
the Pirate party. The Pirate party is one of the German political parties that is only represented at
the Länder parliaments, not at the Bundestag, the national parliament. Seventeen of the 47
(36.2%) SPD members of parliament are women. Six of the 38 (15.9%) CDU members of
parliament are women. Seventeen of the 29 (58.6%) members of parliament from the Green
party are women. Eleven of the 19 (57.9%) members of parliament from the Left are women.
One of the 15 (6.7%) members of parliament from the Pirate party is a woman. The one
unaffiliated member of parliament is a man. One SPD woman was put in as an alternate for a
man who left. This woman was not counted in the party representation because she was not one
of the initial members the party elected to represent them. One woman from the each CDU, the Green party, and the Left resigned before the completion of their term. These women were each included because they were the initial members selected to represent their respective parties. Furthermore, there were no indications of their replacements.

**Brandenburg**

Brandenburg is the Land that encapsulates Berlin. Out of 88 seats in this Land’s parliament, women hold 39 (44.3%) seats. Five political parties hold seats in the Brandenburg Landtag, the Left, the Social Democratic Party (SPD), the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), the Green party and the Free Democratic Party (FDP). Thirteen of the 25 (52%) members of parliament from the Left are women. Fourteen of the 30 (46.7%) SPD members are women. Seven of the 19 (36.8%) CDU members of parliament are women. Three of the six (50%) members of parliament from the Green party are women. Two of the seven (28.6%) FDP members of parliament are women. One member of parliament from the Left died while in office. It is unclear who her replacement was. She was counted in these Figures because she was one of the initial picks of the party.

**Bremen (Freie Hansestadt Bremen)**

The German name of Bremen translates to the Free Hanseatic City of Bremen, making it one of the Land city-states of Germany. The northern Land, home to a small population, Bremen is unique in its geography because it consists of two unconnected areas on the map. Of the 83 seats in the Bremen parliament, women hold 33 (39.8%) seats. The Landtag of Bremen consists of five
political parties and one unaffiliated member of parliament. The five political parties are: the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), the Social Democratic Party (SPD), the Left, the Green party and the Citizens in Rage party (BIW). The BIW party is one of the German political parties that are only represented in the Länder parliaments, not at the Bündestag, the national parliament. Eight of the 20 (40%) CDU members of parliament are women. Twelve of the 35 (34.3%) SPD members of parliament are women. Three of the five (60%) members of parliament from the Left are women. Ten of the 21 (47.6%) members of parliament from the Green party are women. The one member of parliament representing the BIW is a man. The one unaffiliated member of parliament is also a man.

**Hamburg (Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg)**

The last of the three Germany city-states, Hamburg is located in the north of Germany. Of the 131 seats in the Hamburg Landtag, women hold 46 (35.1%) seats. The Landtag of Hamburg is dominated by five political parties: the Social Democratic Party (SPD), the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), the Green party, the Free Democratic Party (FDP) and the Left. Thirty of the 62 (48.4%) SPD members of parliament are women. Four of the 28 (14.3%) CDU members of parliament are women. Nine of the 14 (64.3%) members of parliament from the Greens are women. Three of the nine (33.3%) FDP members of parliament are women. Five of the eight (62.5%) members of parliament from the Left are women.
Hesse (Hessen)

Located in a relatively central location, Hesse is slightly closer to the western edge of Germany.

Of the 117 seats in the Landtag, women hold 32 (27.4%) of those. Five political parties hold seats in the Hesse parliament: the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), the Left, the Green party, the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the Free Democratic Party (FDP). Nine of the 46 (19.6%) CDU members of parliament are women. Three of the six (50%) members of parliament from the Left are women. Nine of the 17 (52.9%) members of parliament from the Green party are women. Ten of the 29 (34.5%) SPD members of parliament are women. One of the 19 (5.3%) FDP members of parliament is a woman.

Lower Saxony (Niedersachsen)

Surrounding the city-state of Bremen, this Land is one of the few in Germany that has access to seas. Of the 137 seats in the Landtag of Lower Saxony, women hold 39 (28.5%) seats. Four political parties hold seats in the Lower Saxony Landtag, they are: the Social Democratic Party (SPD), the Free Democratic Party (FDP), the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Green party. Fourteen of the 49 (28.6%) SPD members of parliament are women. Four of the 14 (28.6%) FDP members of parliament are women. Eleven of the 54 (20.3%) CDU members of parliament are women. Ten of the 20 (50%) members of parliament from the Green party are women.
Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania (Mecklenburg-Vorpommern)

Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania is located in the northeastern corner of Germany. Of the 71 seats in this Land’s parliament, women hold 20 (28.2%) of them. The five political parties that hold seats in the parliament of Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania are: the Greens, the Left, the Social Democratic Party (SPD), the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the National Democratic Party of Germany (NDP). The NDP is a political party in Germany that is only represented at the Länder level, not in the national parliament, the Bündestag. Four of the (57.1%) seven members of parliament from the Green party are women. Six of the 14 (42.9%) members of parliament from the Left are women. Nine of the 27 (33.3%) SPD members of parliament are women. Two of the 18 (11.1%) CDU members of parliament are women. There are no women represented from the NPD party (0%).

North Rhine Westphalia (Nordrhein-Westfalen)

Forming part of the western border of Germany, this Land is home to a major section of the world famous Rhine River, as its name suggests. Of the 237 seats in this Landtag, women hold 70 (30%) of them. The five political parties that hold seats in the parliament of the North Rhine Westphalia Land are: the Social Democratic Party (SPD), the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), the Green party, the Free Democratic Party (FDP) and the Pirate party. The Pirate party is a political party in Germany that is only represented at the Länder level, not in the national parliament, the Bündestag. Thirty-three of the 99 (33.3%) SPD members of parliament are women. Fifteen of the 67 (22.4%) CDU members of parliament are women. Fifteen of the 29 (51.7%) members of parliament from the Green party are women. Four of the 22 (18.2%) FDP
members of parliament are women. Three of the 20 (15%) members of parliament from the Pirate party are women.

**Rhineland-Palatinate (Rhineland-Pfalz)**

This Land is located in the western-central area of Germany. Of the 99 seats in the Rhineland-Palatinate’s parliament, women hold 40 (40.4%). The three political parties that hold seats in this Land include: the Social Democratic Party (SPD), the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Green party. Seventeen of the 40 (42.5%) SPD members are women. Fourteen of the 41 (34.1%) CDU members of parliament are women. Nine of the 18 (50%) members of parliament from the Green party are women.

**Saarland**

Surrounded by the Land Rhineland-Palatinate, this Land is very small. Of the 51 seats in the Saarland Landtag, women hold 19 (37.3%) seats. Five political parties hold seats in the Saarland parliament. They are: the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), the Social Democratic Party (SPD), the Left, the Pirate party and the Green party. Four of the 19 (21.2%) CDU members of parliament are women. Eight of the 18 (44.4%) SPD members of parliament are women. Five of the eight (62.5%) members of parliament from the Left are women. One of the four (25%) members of parliament from the Pirate party is a woman. One of the two (50%) members of parliament from the Green party is a woman.
Saxony (Sachsen)

This Land on the eastern edge of Germany is one of the newer Länder after the reunification of Germany. Of the 132 seats in the Saxony Landtag, women hold 41 (31.1%) of those seats. The six political parties that hold seats in the parliament are: the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), the Left, the Social Democratic Party (SPD), the Free Democratic Party (FDP), the Green party and the National Democratic Party (NDP). The NDP is a political party in Germany that is only represented at the Länder level, not in the national parliament, the Bündestag. Eleven of the 58 (19%) CDU members of parliament are women. Fifteen of the 29 (51.7%) members of parliament from the Left are women. Seven of the 14 (50%) SPD members of parliament are women. Two of the 14 (14.3%) FDP members of parliament are women. Five of the nine (55.6%) members of parliament from the Green party are women. One of the eight (12.5%) NPD members of parliament is a woman.

Saxony-Anhalt (Sachsen-Anhalt)

This Land borders Brandenburg. Of the 106 seats in the Saxony-Anhalt Landtag, women hold 34 (32.1%) seats. Four political parties hold seats in the Landtag, there is also one women who holds a seat this is unaffiliated with any political party. The four political parties that hold seats in this parliament are: the Left, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the Green party. Twelve of the 28 (42.9%) members of parliament from the Left are women. Six of the 42 (14.3%) CDU members of parliament are women. Ten of the 26 (38.5%) SPD members of parliament are women. Five of the nine (55.6%) members of
parliament from the Green party are women. As stated previously, there is one woman who is unaffiliated with any political party.

**Schleswig-Holstein**

This Land is the northernmost in Germany. Of the 69 seats in the Schleswig-Holstein Landtag, women hold 26 (37.7%) seats. The six parties that hold seats in this parliament are: the Pirate party, the Green party, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), the Social Democratic Party (SPD), the Free Democratic Party (FDP) and the South Schleswig Voter Federation (SSW). The Pirate party and the SSW are political parties in Germany that are only represented at the Länder level, not the national parliament, the Bündestag. The SSW is a party unique to this Land, hence the name. One of the six (16.7%) members of parliament from the Pirate party is a woman. Six of the ten (60%) members of parliament from the Green party are women. Five of the 22 (22.7%) CDU members of parliament are women. Eleven of the 22 (50%) SPD members of parliament are women. One of the six (16.7%) FDP members of parliament is a woman. Two of the three (66.7%) SSW members of parliament are women.

**Thuringia (Thüringen)**

Thuringia is also one of the newly incorporated Länder from the close of the Cold War. Of the 88 (37.5%) seats in Thuringia’s Landtag, women hold thirty-three seats. The five political parties that hold seats in the Thuringia parliament are: the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), the Left, the Social Democratic Party (SPD), the Free Democratic Party (FDP) and the Green party. Nine of the 30 (30%) CDU members of parliament are women. Thirteen of the 27 (48.1%) members
of parliament from the Left are women. Seven of the 18 (38.9%) SPD members of parliament are women. One of the seven (14.3%) FDP members of parliament is a woman. Three of the six (50%) members of parliament from the Green party are women.

The next page contains Figure 3, which shows the sixteen Länder and their different political parties. The number and percentage of women on each Länder parliament is listed by based upon the political parties present in each parliament. This table easily identifies the Länder with the strongest proportion of women in parliaments. Furthermore, the table clearly depicts the political party with the greatest percentage of women.
### Women Represented in Länder Parliaments by Political Party

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Länder</th>
<th>CDU/CSU</th>
<th>SPD **</th>
<th>Grünen-</th>
<th>FD P</th>
<th>Left ~</th>
<th>FW</th>
<th>BI W</th>
<th>Pirates</th>
<th>NP D</th>
<th>SS W</th>
<th>No Affiliation</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baden-Württemberg</td>
<td>8/60</td>
<td>7/35</td>
<td>11/3</td>
<td>6/1</td>
<td>0/7</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>26/1</td>
<td>18.80 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayern</td>
<td>21/101</td>
<td>18/4</td>
<td>10/1</td>
<td>8/1</td>
<td>5/19</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>54/1</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berlin</td>
<td>6/38</td>
<td>17/4</td>
<td>17/2</td>
<td>9/1</td>
<td>11/1</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1/15</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>0/1</td>
<td>53/1</td>
<td>35.60 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brandenburg</td>
<td>7/19</td>
<td>14/3</td>
<td>3/6</td>
<td>2/7</td>
<td>13/2</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>39/8</td>
<td>44.30 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bremen</td>
<td>8/20</td>
<td>12/3</td>
<td>10/2</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>3/5</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>0/1</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>0/1</td>
<td>33/8</td>
<td>39.80 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamburg</td>
<td>4/28</td>
<td>30/6</td>
<td>9/14</td>
<td>3/9</td>
<td>5/8</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>46/1</td>
<td>35.10 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hesse</td>
<td>9/46</td>
<td>10/2</td>
<td>9/17</td>
<td>1/9</td>
<td>3/6</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>32/1</td>
<td>27.40 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Saxony</td>
<td>11/54</td>
<td>14/4</td>
<td>10/2</td>
<td>9/0</td>
<td>4/14</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>39/1</td>
<td>28.50 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania</td>
<td>2/18</td>
<td>9/27</td>
<td>4/7</td>
<td>6/14</td>
<td>0/5</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>20/7</td>
<td>28.20</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Rhine-Westphalia</td>
<td>15/67</td>
<td>33/9</td>
<td>15/2</td>
<td>9/18</td>
<td>4/22</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>70/2</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhineland-Palatinate</td>
<td>14/4</td>
<td>17/4</td>
<td>9/18</td>
<td>1/9</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>40/9</td>
<td>40.40</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saarland</td>
<td>4/19</td>
<td>8/18</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>5/8</td>
<td>1/4</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>19/5</td>
<td>37.30</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxony</td>
<td>11/58</td>
<td>7/14</td>
<td>5/9</td>
<td>2/14</td>
<td>1/52</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1/8</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>41/1</td>
<td>31.10</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxony-Anhalt</td>
<td>6/42</td>
<td>10/2</td>
<td>5/9</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>34/1</td>
<td>32.10</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schleswig-Holstein</td>
<td>5/22</td>
<td>11/2</td>
<td>6/10</td>
<td>1/6</td>
<td>1/6</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1/6</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>26/8</td>
<td>37.70</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thuringia</td>
<td>9/30</td>
<td>7/18</td>
<td>3/6</td>
<td>1/7</td>
<td>1/3</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>33/8</td>
<td>37.50</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Länder Total       | 140/66  | 224/593 | 127/251 | 18/9 | 86/1 | 5/19 | 0/86 | 5/19 | 0/5 | 6/45 | 1/1 | 2/3 | 1/3 | 605/1876 |
|                    | %       | 0%      | 0%      | 0%   | 0%   | 0%   | 0%   | 0%   | 0%  | 0%   | 0%  | 0%  | 0%  | 32.2 %     |

**Figure 3** The symbols next to the political parties indicate the quota systems they employ. The * indicates a quorum, or soft quota, ** indicates a rough quota of one-third of positions allocated to women, ~ indicates a strict 50% quota for women, no marking indicates that political party has no quota system. Sources: Länder webpages.
National

The federal government of Germany is divided into two houses, the Bundestag and the Bundesrat. For the purpose of this thesis, the Bundestag will be the main focus in the data Chapter because this house is made up of elected officials. The Bundesrat is composed of appointments based on elected Länder officials. The Bundestag, however, is the elected body of the federal level of Germany politics.

Bundestag

The Bundestag currently has 631 seats from the September 2013 elections. Of those 631 seats, women hold 191 (30.3%) seats. Five parties hold seats in the Bundestag, the Christian Democratic Union (CSU), their sister party from Bavaria, the Christian Social Union (CSU), the Social Democratic Party (SPD), the Left and the Green party. Women hold 67 seats of the CDU’s 255 (26.3%). Women hold 14 on the CSU’s 56 (25%) seats. Women hold 73 of the SPD’s 193 (37.8%) seats. Women hold 34 of the Left party’s 64 (53.1%) seats. Women hold 34 of the Green party’s 63 (54%) seats.

With the majority of seats in the Bundestag, Angel Merkel of the CDU party is currently Chancellor of the German federal government.
Supra-National

Since the 1950s, Germany has integrated with other European nations economically. The politics of an integrated Europe became more concrete with the creation of the European Parliament in 1970 (European Parliaments, 2013). A founding member of the European Union and the European Parliament, Germany has historically played a key role in European politics and that role continues today. Germany is an economic and political powerhouse in Europe. Germany has proven its economic resilience and continues to influence other countries. Politically, Germany has also become a leader for other nations to follow.

Of the 764 total MEP seats in the current European Parliament, women hold 268 (35.1%) seats. There are eight party groups, similar to a country’s political parties, that are represented in the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women Represented in the Bundestag by Political Party</th>
<th>Number of Women</th>
<th>Total Seats for Party</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CDU*</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>26.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSU*</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPD**</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>37.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left~</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>53.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green~</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>631</td>
<td>30.30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4 Source: Website of the Federal Government of Germany: Election to the German Bundestag 2013.
European Parliament, they are: Group of European People’s Party (Christian Democrats; for Germany, the CDU), Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament (for Germany, the SPD), Group of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (for Germany, the FDP), Group of the Greens/European Free Alliance (for Germany, the Green party), European Conservatives and Reformists Group (no Germans), Confederal Group of the European United Left – Nordic Green Left (for Germany, the Left), Europe of the Freedom and Democracy Group, and those unaffiliated members (no Germans).

There are 93 women members of parliament of the 274 (33.9%) members in the Group of European People’s party holding seats. There are 80 women members of parliament of the 194 (41.2%) members in the Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament party holding seats. There are 36 women members of parliament of the 85 (42.4%) members in the Group of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe party holding seats. There are 27 women members of parliament of the 57 (47.4%) members in the Group of the Greens/European Free Alliance party holding seats. There are 13 women members of parliament of the 56 (23.2%) members in the European Conservatives and Reformists Group holding seats. There are 11 women members of parliament of the 35 (31.4%) members of the Confederal Group of the European United Left – Nordic Green Left, holding seats. There are two women members of parliament of the 32 (6.25%) members in the Europe of Freedom and Democracy Group holding seats. There are seven of the 31 (22.3%) unaffiliated members of parliament.
Germany contributed 37 women Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) out of 97 total German Members sent to serve on the European Parliament (European Parliament/MEPS, 2013). Therefore, the German contribution to the European Parliament was 38.1% women. Of Germany’s contribution, the various German political parties are represented. The Christian Democratic Union (CDU), their sister party from Bavaria, the Christian Social Union (CSU), the Social Democratic Party (SPD), the Left, the Green party and the Free Democratic People’s Party (FDP) are the parties represented at the supra-national level. There are nine women as members of parliament representing the CDU out of 35 (25.7%) chairs. There are two women as members of parliament representing the CSU out of seven (28.6%) seats. There are 11 women as members of parliament representing the SPD out of 23 (47.8%) seats. There are five women as members of parliament representing the Left out of eight (62.5%) seats. There are six women as members of parliament representing the Green party out of 12 (50%). There are four women as members of parliament representing the FDP out of 12 (33.3%) seats.

The current President of the European Parliament is a German named Martin Schulz. Of the 28 former presidents, 2 were women. Of the President’s 14 current Vice-Presidents, 3 are women (European Parliament/News, 2013).

A “Women’s Rights and Gender Equality” Committee exists under the European Parliament that seeks to advocate for women’s rights and remedy the inequalities existing throughout the European Union.
Women Represented in the European Parliament Based on European Political Parties and German Political Parties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party and Group</th>
<th>Number of Women</th>
<th>Total Seats for Party</th>
<th>Percentage of Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats)</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>33.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>41.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>42.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group of the Greens/European Free Alliance</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>47.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Conservatives and Reformists Group</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>23.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confederal Group of the European United Left - Nordic Green Left</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>31.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe of Freedom and Democracy Group</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>6.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaffiliated Members</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>22.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>764</td>
<td>35.10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Parties</th>
<th>Number of Women</th>
<th>Total Seats for Party</th>
<th>Percentage of Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CDU*</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>25.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSU*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left~</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>62.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPD**</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>47.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greens~</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDP</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>33.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>38.10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5 Source: Website of the European Parliament/MEPs: Political Parties.
CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS

When examining the data, the sub-national and national percentages of women are aligned with the results we expected. At the sub-national level, 32.2% of the members of parliament are women and at the national level, 30.3% of the members of parliament are women. Based upon the framework of federalism, this funneling is expected and therefore consistent with the hypothesis of this thesis. The supra-national results, however, are different from the results expected. Within the entire European Parliament (supra-national level) 35.1% of the members of parliament. Furthermore, the German contribution of members of parliament to the European Parliament consists of 38.1% women. The results at the supra-national level are surprising based upon the framework of federalism suggesting a funneling effect with more women at the lowest levels of government and more at the higher levels. However, because the European Parliament is a supra-national body, its politics are different than those within Germany. The European Union sets stipulations for elections as “each country decides on the form its election will take, but must guarantee equality of the sexes and a secret ballot” (European Parliament/MEPs, 2013). The number of seats is decided upon based on the population of the country.

When looking at the data for each Landtag, half of the Länder have at least 33.3% (one-third) of the seats in their parliaments held by women. These Länder are: Berlin (33.6%), Brandenburg (44.3%), Bremen (39.8%), Hamburg (35.1%), Rhineland-Palatinate (40.4%), Saarland (37.3%), Schleswig-Holstein (37.7%) and Thuringia (37.5%). When these Länder are plotted on the map of Germany, clusters emerge to the eastern edge of the country (Berlin and Brandenburg), to the north of the country (Bremen, Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein), to the south-eastern edge of
the country (Saarland and Rhineland-Palatinate) and central (Thuringia). Therefore, it is obvious that the trend of women in parliaments is not a regionally influenced trend, as may be expected. Because of this distribution it is impossible to determine if a western influence or a historic Soviet influence changes the attitudes of the German people living in various Länder. The eastern and central Länder have sizable influences from the CDU, SPD and Left parties. The northern and western Länder have influences from the CDU and SPD but instead of the Left, they have a greater influence from the Green party. However, due to party distribution, it is obvious that equality stems from different belief systems in the different regions of Germany. The eastern and central Länder appear to be more influenced by the positive marks of equality left from the Soviet rule, while the western and northern Länder appear to be affected more by the western power’s influence of promoting equality and freedom. Therefore, although women’s equality is not necessarily regionally influenced, based on the party strengths in each Land, historical differences have contributed to attitudes in the Länder.

When looking at the populations of these Länder, most of them have populations of less than three million. Brandenburg has two and a half million, Bremen has six hundred sixty-one thousand, Hamburg has one point eight million, Saarland has one million, Schleswig Holstein has two point eight million and Thuringia has two point two million. Berlin and Rhineland-Palatinate being the exceptions with three and a half million and four million respectively. However, there are two Länder that are also under this three million threshold that do not have 33.3% of women in their Landtag: Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania with one point six million people and Saxony-Anhalt with two point three million people. The largest Länder in Germany
(North Rhein Westphalia with eighteen million, Bayern with twelve and a half million, Baden-Württemberg with ten point eight million, Lower Saxony eight million and Hesse with six million) fall below the 33.3% of women in their parliaments suggesting a correlation between smaller populations and a higher percentage of women in Landtags in Germany. While the results of smaller Länder supporting increased equality for women may be correlational instead of causational, it may also signal trends to be explored in further research.

In addition to looking at the number of women at each level of parliament, it is important to analyze the different contributions of the political parties. As discussed, in Chapter 2, each party has its own politics towards women’s representation. Here the numbers and percentages will be analyzed for each level of government to determine what each party contributed and if they complied with their set quota systems for women.

The first party to discuss is the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and their sister party, the Christian Socialist Union (CSU) from Bavaria. This party implemented a soft quota, called a quorum, stating that 33.3% of its members of parliament should be women. There are no consequences for the party if this quorum is not followed. This party did not uphold their quorum at the sub-nationally level overall, at the national level, or at the supra-national level. The average percentage of women for all three levels of government is 24.4%, below their quorum. There were three Länder that upheld the CDU/CSU quorum, they are: Brandenburg with 36.8% women members of parliament, Bremen with 40% women members of parliament, and Rhineland-Palatinate with 34.1% women members of parliament for each of their respective
Landtag. It is interesting that these three CDU parties within their respective Länder upheld the quorum because they are all located in separate areas of Germany, with Brandenburg being to the far eastern edge of the country, Rhineland-Palatinate being to the far western edge of the country, and Bremen being a small city-state to the northwest. One would expect regional difference to influence the proportions of women, either the positive western influence of equality or the positive Soviet influence of equality. Or perhaps the opposite: the negative western influence of patriarchic societies or the negative Soviet influence of hopeless feelings towards governance. Therefore, overall, the CDU/CSU is not upholding their quorum in Germany.

The second political party to discuss is the Social Democratic Party (SPD). This party has a 40% quota at the national level and a soft quota of 33.3% at the sub-national level. Nationally, the SPD did not meet their set quota. Although with 37.8% of the members of parliament being women, they came close to it. At the supra-national level, they exceeded their quota, almost achieving gender parity with 47.8% of their members of parliament being women. Overall, at the sub-national level, the SPD achieved their goals of 33.3% representation. There were two Länder that failed to meet the SPD’s criteria: Baden-Württemberg and Lower Saxony. Both of the SPD parties in these Länder came in below the expected quota of women in parliament. As discussed in the previous paragraph with the CDU/CSU, regional differences in Länder representation are expected, however this is not the case with the two SPD parties that did not uphold their soft quotas in their respective Land. Overall, however, the SPD has promoted equality, with their
Länder soft quotas generally being practiced and their national quotas coming close to their quota. They do have work to do to ensure that their quotas are met at each election.

The next two parties to discuss are the Green party and the Left. Each of these parties has implemented a strict 50% representation quota, whereby 50% of the members of parliament must be women. For both of these parties, their quotas have been met, and in some cases exceeded for all levels of government. The Green party has 51.5% women as their members of parliament for all levels of government. Surprisingly, the percentage is highest at the national level, with 54% of the Green Bundestag members being women. Because the Green party has successfully implemented their 50% quota at every level of government, including each Landtag, they are doing an excellent job promoting equality. The Left party also has met these requirements. With 55.5% of their members of parliament at all levels of government being women, they have the highest overall percentage of women in their elected leadership. Their supra-national contribution is over 60% women members of parliament, at 62.5%. Because the Left has successfully implemented their 50% quota at every level of government, including each Landtag, they are doing an excellent job promoting equality.

The final political party to consider is the Free Democratic Party (FDP). This national political party has implemented no quota system for women. It is difficult to incorporate this party into the analysis because in the past Bundestag election, they lost all of their former seats. This loss of seats in the Bundestag signals discontent with this political party. There is only data for the sub-national and supra-national levels of government. At the sub-national level of government,
the FDP had 18.9% of its members of parliament being female. This is the lowest percentage out of all of the national parties at the Landtag level. Within some Länder, the percentage of women FDP members of parliament was 0%. At the supra-national level of government, women in this party fared better than their sub-national counterparts, with 33.3% of FDP members of parliament being women. Overall, this party has poor representation for women at the sub-national level and fair representation at the supra-national level.

Based on these conclusions for the sub-national level, population and party affiliation appears to play a large role in women’s representation. Typically, smaller Länder tend to have higher percentages of women in their Landtag. Parties have been important indicators of women’s representation at all levels of government in Germany. The Left and Green parties have been instrumental in adhering to their 50% quotas in the sub-national, national and supra-national levels. Thus, they have had a tremendous impact on the percentage of women elected to parliaments at each level of government. Although not a strict as the Left and Green parties, the implementation on the SPD’s quota system worked to incorporate more women SPD members into each level of government. The CDU/CSU have made a half-hearted effort to include women in their ranks. Although their numbers are not as low as the FDP, the CDU/CSU party needs to enhance and enforce its quota system for women in order for a greater impact to be felt at all levels of government. Especially because the CDU/CSU is such a large political influence in Germany, a quota system for this party would greatly enhance women’s representation in Germany.
Having gender quotas within the federalist system works in Germany because of the electoral system in place. The different levels of government are not indicative of the proportions of women in their ranks, but rather which political parties hold the most weight is a better determining factor of the proportions of women in parliaments. It is also clear that as different parties hold higher proportions of seats, namely those with stricter gender quotas, the proportions of women in parliaments increases. German political system works with the electoral system and gender quota system in place, however, there are other ways to increase women’s representation in federalist systems.
### Summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Women</th>
<th>Total Number of Seats</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sub-National</td>
<td>605</td>
<td>1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supra-National</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supra-National German Contribution</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>1101</strong></td>
<td><strong>3368</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CDU/CSU*</th>
<th>SPD**</th>
<th>Green~</th>
<th>FDP</th>
<th>Left~</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sub-National</td>
<td>21.10%</td>
<td>37.80%</td>
<td>50.60%</td>
<td>18.90%</td>
<td>50.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>37.80%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>53.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supra-National German Contribution</td>
<td>26.20%</td>
<td>47.80%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>33.30%</td>
<td>62.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>24.40%</strong></td>
<td><strong>41.10%</strong></td>
<td><strong>51.50%</strong></td>
<td><strong>26.10%</strong></td>
<td><strong>55.50%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 6* summarizes the data collected and presented in Chapter 4. This figure shows the number and percentages of women at each of the levels of government. Furthermore, each level of government is broken down by the German political party’s contributions.
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

The figure below displays the twenty-five federalist countries in the world, their percentage of women in their national parliament, and their worldwide ranking (Inter-Parliamentary Union, September 2013). Based solely on this table, federalism does not affect the representation on women in national parliaments because the percentages vary from 42.3% (South Africa) to 0% (Micronesia). However, it is impossible to distinguish federalism from the myriad other factors that could affect women’s representation in parliaments, such as the acceptance or rejection of gender quotas and the transparency and accountability of elections (Caul, 2001). Some of the top spots are held by unitary countries with varying degrees of gender quotas, such as Rwanda, Sweden, and Finland (Inter-Parliamentary Union, September 2013). Therefore, overall the results of federalism are inconclusive. It appears that gender quotas do significantly contribute to women’s representation in parliaments when they are adequately adopted by a country.

For the case of Germany, it is clear that the federal system promotes women’s representation by allowing for multiple points of access. However, as the data was sufficiently analyzed, it becomes clear that political parties play a large role in women’s representation. The German political system is more heavily dependent upon gender quotas of political parties to increase women’s representation in parliaments because their only legislation for gender quotas is through political parties.
### Percentage of Women in Parliaments in the Federalist Countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage of Women in Parliament</th>
<th>Worldwide Ranking (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2013)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>37.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>24.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>27.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
<td>21.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>8.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>24.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comoros</td>
<td>3.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>27.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>32.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>10.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>36.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micronesia</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepal</td>
<td>33.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>13.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>20.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>13.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint Kitts &amp; Nevis</td>
<td>6.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>42.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>36.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Arab Emirates</td>
<td>17.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States of America</td>
<td>17.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 7** Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2013.
While data is inconclusive regarding the framework of federalism as it applies women’s representation, many important questions are brought up that should be examined further. The data found has shown that in Germany, gender quotas and the federalist system interact. Political parties voluntarily adopted (or do not adopt) gender quotas. In some cases, such as with the SPD, different quota systems are adopted based on the level of government. In the case of Germany, the electoral system aids in women’s representation in parliament through gender quotas. The interplay of quota systems and the federalist structure of government would be much different for unitary systems or for federalist countries with a different electoral system, such as the United States.

This research shows many important points and highlights many areas for further research. While the federalist structure offers many openings for women to rise in parliaments, there are also many other factors at play. In Germany, the adoption of party gender quotas and the electoral system have played influential roles in placing women in parliamentary seats. This case study of German federalism helps to prove the notion that theoretically, federalist states offer better representation for minorities. However, it is inconclusive overall but relates to the current body of literature by providing a case study of a federalist country.

Future research should include an expansion of the federal analysis in Germany by expanding downward into city governments in the Länder. Another question that should be further examined, is determining if the population of the Länder contributes in any significant way to women’s representation in parliaments. It would be interesting to discuss the finding of this.
The research in this thesis brought up many other factors regarding women’s representation in parliaments such as gender quotas. I would like to research German gender quotas at the party level and compare them to other quota systems in place. Furthermore, comparing the German political and electoral system, and gender quota adoption, to other federalist countries may yield telling results as to the effectiveness of structures of government, gender quotas or electoral systems. An analysis of women’s legislation passed by the Länder and the Bundestag may yield results that support or refute the effectiveness of women in parliaments for women’s rights and health.
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